/340 cont./

practices sorcery. He is not bound to place and form and is capable of any kind of accomplishment with any person or thing. Vivid play of imagination is merely quantitatively and not qualitatively distinguishable from dream-sorcery. A person who kisses the picture of his beloved is preparing himself for sorcery. Anyone who throws a kiss through the air to his distant sweetheart is already strongly to be suspected of sorcery, for it is to be feared that he believes the sweet breath will reach its destination and be felt there. Anyone, however, who, like the great sorcerer Goethe, says to his amanuensis Eckermann: "I have in the years of my youth experienced instances enough when, on lonely walks, a powerful longing for a beloved girl would seize me and I would think of her until she actually came walking toward me," such a person is already practicing sorcery according to all the rules of the art. Completely under the spell of genuine sorcery is the person who, if his ears are ringing, yields to the conviction, if only for a second, that someone has spoken good or ill of him, or who has a friend keep his fingers crossed so that he will succeed in something, or who believes that his wishes have the power to influence the course of pleasant or unpleasant events.

Our Indians, like many other primitive peoples, have the firm conviction, which may, moreover, be observed on our level of civilization among children and intoxicated persons, and not only among them, that in a vivid dream they are experiencing reality; a person goes hunting, shoots fish, or fells trees when he is asleep, while the body remains in the hammock. Among the Bororó, as I shall report later, we once found that the entire village wanted to flee because one man in a dream had seen enemies creeping up. The Bakaïrí let the "shadow" of a human being -- which we then translate as "soul" -- wander about in the dream. (Cf. the Paressí chapter also for this and similar information /see p. 532/.) Antonio, whom I could study alone sufficiently, especially during the Cuyabá months, in order to obtain most of the statements which will follow later, had the fear, well known particularly from the Malays, that it is dangerous to waken a sleeping person suddenly. The "shadow," which is perhaps wandering

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*171 ● 714 828 ooo in distant regions, would not be able to return quickly enough, and the sleeper would turn into a dead person. To my surprise, he also explained the headache which one has after too little sleep at night as resulting from the fatigue of the shadow hurrying back. We may not be too critical of the Indian's belief, based purely on the direct experience of the senses, if we remember that higher speculative philosophy does not find it at all simple to determine whether life is a dream or the dream is life, whether we experience reality while awake or during sleep, and we must not forget that, after we awaken, reality sometimes brings complete confirmation.

/341/ How does such a point of view arise and what are its consequences? The awakening person is conscious of having seen and heard things. He has perceived them with perfect clarity. Hence they were there. If meanwhile the body of the sleeper has been lying in the hammock, it does not occur to anyone to ask therefore whether what was seen and what happened were real. None of the fellow tribesmen would think of questioning the faithful report; in the course of time they may perhaps try to give a kind of explanation by attributing to the shadow, for example, the change of locale which the body did not actually undertake, but this is secondary and does not affect the impression left by what has just occurred. Simply because one does not understand a thing is no reason to dismiss the actual experience of the senses. It is merely a reason for attaching great importance to dreamed events that have a general interest and for everyone to become excited about them; what happened is something special and the person who experienced it is capable of more than the others. We see that it is not necessary in deciding what is real to consider whether sense impressions are received directly from the outside or whether impressions previously stored up from memory images regain their old sensuous power in an aroused state. A confusion of feeling and accomplishment is quite unavoidable, however, as soon as what is vividly imagined is regarded as real. An inflamed fancy can, in truth, devise anything it wishes; hence the person filled with it is capable of what is otherwise impossible.

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*171 man takes the strong poisons, "he dies." He lies "dead" in the when the medicine
755 hammock until his shadow returns. For the time being I should
704 like to ignore what the result of this conception of loss of consciousness is for the conception of death. During his narcosis the witch doctor is able to transform himself into any animal form and immediately reach any place desired. The transformation occurs in such a way that he "enters" into the animal. Even today the best doctors are those who drink poison and transform themselves in the intoxicated state. "These piajes who drink âgokuriôku and go to heaven," said Antonio literally, "are very good, they cure everything, and the others who do not take poison, who merely blow with tobacco, they cure also, but they do not cure severe /346/ illness." The origin and the meaning of magic cannot be expressed more clearly; one puts himself into a state of excitement in order to make himself capable of what would otherwise be impossible, he works miracles, in which everyone believes, by stimulating his power of imagination; the ultimate basis of all sorcery is the conviction of the reality of what is dreamed or imagined.

Antonio's statements, in the literal wording, about the visit of a narcotized piaje in heaven will explain the situation better than my interpretation. The docile Bakaïrí have, I can only say, [179] snapped up a few Christian ideas and have made them their own in the most curious distortion; for me, at any rate, it was extremely difficult to remain serious when before my astonished eyes Christ, Mary, and the angels suddenly appeared in Schingú dress amidst beijûs and surrounded by gourds filled with starch-paste and yellow pîkî juice. At the same time we were assured that the [775] non-Christian ancestors, the "antigos" of the narrative piaje, [773] visited heaven and, drinking poison, changed themselves into all kinds of wild animals. I was given the story when I tried to learn their ideas of heaven.

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*171 755 "Heaven has a ground, as here. The piaje who was there says so." "??..." "He drank liana poison and died. He was then no longer like human beings, he could go into a jaguar or a cobra snake or a sukurí snake or a falcon. He ascended to heaven, came back, awoke as a human being, and was just as he was before. This happened on the Paranatinga. The same thing also happened formerly among the antigos, and the people of the Tamitotoala (Batovy) used to say the same thing." Thereupon Antonio reported his specific example. "He drank the poison in the hammock itself, he drank out of a gourd vessel in which there was mixed a great deal of water, he died in the hammock. He went to heaven and there met the antigos. He also met that one...., what is he called?" (Tries in vain to think of the name.) "Oh, his mother also went to heaven." "Jesu Christo?" "The same. He conversed with him for a long time. This Krito had him sit down on a stool and brought him calabashes with pogu and pikí juice. There was a great deal of it. They talked a very long time. This Krito provided him with arara feathers for flying. Then he blew on him. Then he let him return. He woke up in his hammock." I wanted to find out in greater detail how he had come out. "The shadow rose up a little above heaven, carefully looked for the hole by which one gets out of heaven, and flew back here." "So the shadow had been in heaven?" "Since the body does not go and cannot rise up because it is dead, the shadow goes."

171 755 276 The transformation thus takes place in the dream, which is induced by a narcotic. It is regarded as real and the story of such a dream, wholly true or nowadays only very much partially true in professional practice, furnishes the material for the belief in the art of the /347/ witch doctors. Their actual merit lies only in their knowledge of the narcotics, and in particular, from our point of view, that of tobacco narcosis. Antonio told me that

* The occasion for becoming acquainted with the narcotic effect was probably during the fanning of the smoldering fire. One must seek in the forest the dry leaves which are thrown on, which

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761 effugere potest" /no one can flee death/. Antonio's translation, which avoided the word "must," yet showed that he correctly understood my view, came out rather twisted after a quarter of an hour of thinking: "I die only (and) we (die)." The interpreter, however, shook his head, dissatisfied; he had doubts which we, too, should scarcely be able to surpress if it were maintained: "all men must be murdered." The Indian seeks the cause of death only externally, in a nasty trick. If there were only good human beings, there would be neither sickness nor death. He knows nothing about a natural ebbing of the life process.

775 /349/ A second, not unessential difference between the interpretation of our Indians and that of civilized peoples concerns existence after death. That the earth's goods are unevenly distributed and a poor person may one day experience the bliss of abundance, that justice is imperfect here below and the good person will one day be rewarded, the evil person punished, these ethical demands have not arisen in the simple social conditions of the native. His conception of the existence after death does not arise from hope and faith. It is, however, linked with the idea of agreeable conditions to the extent that in the future life with the "antigos" in heaven fish, game, and pikí juice will be very abundantly provided, and it also takes into account the behavior of worthless fellows, for they roam about at night in the forest as malicious spirits, kflain-oroika, spreading terror and alarm, not because they are, say, "cursed," but because they naturally continue their wickedness in another place.

761 For the native, however, the root of the conviction about
● 774 continued existence lies, not in feeling, but in intellect, despite
775 the fact that the two are inseparably joined. For his level of
828 judgment, it is a matter of knowledge. According to the conception of civilized peoples, the soul leaves the body for the first time at death, something entirely new happens, about which they know nothing from experience and observation, unless through spiritualistic means; because of this unknown, new thing, they cannot prove immortality, but are obliged to content themselves with believing it for ethical reasons. For the Indian, on

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761 the other hand, the process of the separation of soul and body is
● 774 not new; he experiences it day after day, as we have seen, when
775 the shade /Schatten," shadow, shade"/ hastens away in the dream
828 and leaves his body behind in the hammock. Ordinary death is a deep unconsciousness (coma) brought about by the poison which the sorcerer administers, and it differs from sleep only in the fact that the shade hastens too far away to be able to return. Only the medicine man who poisons himself returns to life. The experiences of the shade during sleep were already "real"; hence its "experiences" after death are just as "real." One is familiar with this reality, which is merely life in another place, from daily experience and has it amply confirmed by the deceased, with whose shades our own communicates during the dream, and by the sorcerers who occasionally visit the realm of the dead; in the latter Hamlet may find the wanderers who return from the regions of the unknown country. To die to sleep, no more /cited in English/.

775 The shades of the dead Bakaïrï go to heaven to the ancestors. Heaven is first of all not the land of the future, but of the past, the old ones are still there where all history began. The heaven
[772] in which the first Bakaïrï lived lay beside the earth in former times, and one could easily get over to it. Too many people died there, however, /350/ so the people moved to earth, and heaven rose up to where it is now and where the animals, the places, and the things which occur in the old stories may be seen to this day. "Everything remained as it was." "There were always Bakaïrï, but in the beginning there were very few." One
[811] need only hold fast to a few specific points, and one will recognize, in spite of all flights of fancy and in spite of all the elaboration by tradition, a core of naïve, sound logic in the Indians' explanation of nature.

811 The Indians know no "must." They regard every occurrence in nature as a unique occurrence, or more correctly as a unique action. Indeed, laws are in fact known only as the result of the common work of many -- those who live and have lived. And as long as there are no laws and at best only habits, each individual is at the center of the

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773 812 I mean to say that these cases are essentially different from those in the legends where things are "personified," that is, speak and act like animal and human being. The falling turtle of the Amazon legend sees a boulder in the direction of her fall and calls out to it: "Get out of my way!" Obediently the stone removes itself and she falls on soft ground. The stone, which understands her words, could also have replied. Keri quarrels with the sky and, angered, goes over to the earth with his people, where the Bakaïrí, as a result, live today. The wind is called in order to tear down a tree. In these cases there is no blowing or sorcery. The storyteller lets the things hear, speak, in order to say that they do or do not want something, are tractable or refractory, and need not realize, as we do, that he is thus endowing them with a "soul." "How could the sky talk?" "I don't know, at that time it talked." More was not to be learned from Antonio. If today in ordinary life a thing suddenly causes harm, that is the fault of an evil sorcerer, whereas an animal acts by itself.

754 756 812 /364/ The second type of transformation is that of the sorcerer himself into any animal shape desired. No one seems to know how he does this. He does not actually become the animal itself, however; he always goes into the animal and is always implanted in the animal; in fact, he can be in the foot of the tapir and seize the vulture. Now does the "soul" go out of one person and into the other? But in that case at least we ought not ask either where the soul of the animal or where the body of the culture hero remains, or whether the "shade," which in the case of the modern, narcotized medicine man lying in the hammock leaves the body for the transformation into jaguar or snake, was previously "inside" the medicine man, or whether the shade can get inside an animal- - I believe we are overdoing a good thing if we speak of the activities of the "soul" among primitive peo- ● [774] ples. I, at any rate, merely had the impression that with regard to the "soul" the Indians sometimes think of the shade, sometimes of the breath, but do not account for all the specific details, and instead always preserve the image of the entire "living" personality. It seems to me one comes closest to the real situation if one

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128 These few lines indicate how much could be done on these grounds yet to be explored.

/249/ And now that this linguistic step has been overcome and the reader already has a slight idea of the sounds and forms of Kɤura-itano, let us question the Bacaeris concerning their conception of the world, family, and society, their cultural acquisitions, their migrations, etc.

Four, or at most five points will suffice for this.

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II

The Conception of the World

• 774

The Bacaeris believe that man consists of two elements: kɤaɫatopüri, "our shadow, going /andadura/ or running /corrida/," and kɬati, "our shirt," or kɤutubi, "our skin." They may be translated as "body and soul," but the translation is inadequate.

The shadow puts on and takes off its shirt with ease and often, going out and coming in, now normally, now abnormally, now temporarily, now permanently.

The egress is normal when there is shouting, because the shadow, with the same speed with which it goes to the place where the echo rebounds, returns to its skin, or when one is sleeping and dreaming. When sleep becomes agitated, it indicates the ascent of hills, the fording of streams, or evil encounters. The person who is asleep is not awakened, for the shadow may not yet have put its shirt back on (10).

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10. Matias Ruiz Blanco in his Conversión de Piritú /Conversion of Piritu/, published in 1690, gives a variant of the same idea among the Indians of that region, who, like the Bacaeris, were also

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Caribas: "The manner of greeting is for one to say to another, 'Is it you? Have you come? Have you arrived? Are you well?' and no one speaks to the guests upon their arrival, nor do they speak for a while, because they say that they are waiting for their souls to arrive, which is arrant nonsense." (Conv. en Piritũ, 62, repr. Madrid, 1892.) The greeting between Bacaeris is ama, "you," to which one replies, ura, "I"; or mawili, "you came," to which one replies, ɛ̂ɛ̂ kɣauĩli, "yes I came."

When we sleep, we dream says the piahi;--when we sleep, our shadow converses with the /251/ spirits (yamũra);--our shadow travels far,--when our shadow returns, we awaken;--when our shadow is afraid, at night, when it is time to sleep, we talk;--while our shadow sleeps, we dream;--we climb trees, we climb hills;--we walk with the yamũras,--we drink mingáu /a manioc gruel or paste/, we eat, etc.

The egress is abnormal, but temporary, when a person faints from fright, because, with much shouting and fanning with ipenakóro leaves, there is success in getting the shadow to return, or when one has offended the piahis and yamũra, because, if duly propitiated, they pardon the crime and permit the shadow to return, as we shall see later.

It is abnormal and permanent at death.

The Bacaeris, in a very expressive phrase, claim that they do not fall ill from sickness itself (to-ewanũ-ɛ̃e Bakaéri tõwane-pa); illness is always injected by sorcerers (ome-odo, "lord of poison"), and the poisons, all of vegetable origin, are

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756 What remains of the story of the piahi candidate can be summarized in a few lines:

• 774 After having spoken to Nakoeri, the candidate goes away; at the door of the sky, the shadow puts on its old shirt and, once in it, lies down and goes to sleep; no one can go where he is, except the curer who initiated him. In the afternoon he awakens.--Do you want mingáu, are you hungry? asks the curer; and when the candidate replies in the affirmative he goes to make him mingáu with sour dough. After having slept for three days, he eats fresh beijú, then polvilho and puherẽ'o. The curer does not yet allow him to leave the dance house; in the next moon he eats pirão; after two moons he may go out a little, and then he eats game, matrinxã, and white macú. Three months later, he is piahi; he wanders about, goes into a jaguar, into an anta, into a queixada, etc.

756 776 Once consecrated piahi, we have already seen some of the things that he is able to do. We shall give one more story, however, to show the difference between piahi and yamũra.

/268/ Both have died, and it is precisely from death that they acquire the power which makes them so feared by their countrymen; but after death the piahi returns to life by permission of Nakoeri, and then he never dies again, while the yamũra may appear on the earth, enter into the bodies of animals, even put on a human shirt as in the masked festivals, but in reality he never again lives down here below.

Both have almost unlimited powers over nature, but in reality the piahi is the more powerful, because the yamũra respects him and addresses him as "brother-in-law," and he has ways to placate the yamũra and even to scare him away, such as burning cotton seed, or painting with urucú the persons against whom the yamũra has been angered.

Both represent dark powers, but the piahi represents some luminosity which he acquired from his association with Nakoeri.

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756 776 774 It has been mentioned that in certain cases both the piahi and the yamũra can take the shadow of a person who has offended them; but only the piahi can return what he took; and, conversely, he can return the shadow stolen by a yamũra.

825 196 This leads us to mention Topiehe, a Mato Grosso bird which we were unable to identify and in whose name there is probably the same radical as is found in piahi and epiwado.

825 774 756 755 Topiehe, when killed, steals the person's shadow; this is why Topiehe is not killed; it takes a person's shadow far away; then the person dies. The house of Topiehe is in the sky; the Topiehe does not die /269/ really, says the piahi. The one who (seemingly) killed the Topiehe becomes cold; when he reaches home, he falls ill; then the piahi is called, and when he arrives, the bench is washed very clean; then the tail of the arara is tied with cotton to the maracá. While the curer is doing this, no one speaks, and the fire is put out; the bench is placed at the door, and the curer holds it, plays the maracá, and then shouts. When he is not near, yamũra does not come quickly. When he arrives, the bench moves and if the curer does not make it fast, it runs away; this is why the curer does not let go of the bench, on which sits yamũra, with whom the piahi converses: Don't you see, relative, I am calling, I am talking, I am singing, I am shouting, says the curer. I did this, because he committed this crime (inutudohe), answers Topiehe.--He is a human being, he does not know what he is doing, that is why he killed you, answers the curer. When the piahi spoke, Topiehe said: Take him. When the cotton was grasped our shadow is above and then the murderer gets well. After the return: I am going away. I heard your shout and this is why I came, says Topiehe. When Yamũra goes away, the people talk, the curer goes to the patient; he was sick because he killed Topiehe; Topiehe is not to be killed, says the curer.

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829 The idea of "Lord" appears often, but it is not easy to
776 understand what it means. When a Bacaeri states that the white
825 man is the lord of the mirror, naturally he means that he first saw this object in the hands of the Carahibas. What does he actually mean, however, when he states that the lord of the rain is the parakeet?

776 It also seems natural that, if certain things have lords, the latter be paid or granted some token of respect or homage. Only one such case is mentioned, however; those who make hammocks, before using them, sling them outside the house in homage to the Coandú /coendou/, lord of hammocks, so that their hair will not turn white. A story about a great cataclysm brought about by the death of the newt, lord of the wind, is also told.

In view of all this, the following list of lords is of minor interest, since it will only be of use if new comparative data become available:

776 The lizard is the lord of sleep; the fox, the lord of fire;
825 the parakeet, of rain; the newt, of wind; the curiango /Caprimulgus/, of the fishing hook; the urubu is lord of the bench; the sea snail, of the sun; the sucuri, of the fishing net; the heron, of the boquité (a type of basket); the uga (a kind of lizard), of the grater; the porcupine is lord of thorns; the kingfisher, lord of fish; the coendou, lord of smoke and also of the buriti net; the deer is lord of the mandioca, etc.

825 /273/ This shows that the Bacaeri does not make a very
794 great distinction between human beings and animals. For
196 "to wish" they use two words: ieyi, first person, which is applied to an animal raised by a human being; and anayido, a generic term, simply the plural of anayi, which means "who" and "someone." There is nothing strange about this, considering that human beings and animals have shadows and speak in the same fashion.

824 The trees also have shadows and speak.
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about three centimeters square made of tree bark. After the seclusion boys and girls were eligible for /264/ marriage. Marriage, todohokűinle, was joined by the parents of the young people by means of an exchange of gifts, and it does not seem to have merited any special ceremony.

The Bakairí do not seem to have believed in the possibility of a natural death. After death, which was always caused by the sorcery of some enemy, the corpse was painted and attired in the finery used in life. The corpse was rolled up in the hammock used by the deceased, and buried with the head pointing west and the feet east. There followed a mourning period, during which the closer relatives remained uanki and from which they emerged through the tadaunűno feast.

The world of the Bakairí was surrounded by supernatural beings, good and evil, such as the iaműra, topiehe, karoui, kadopa, and kilaimo. (5) Plants and animals were nothing but

5. Capistrano de Abeu, "Os Bacaerys," Revista Brasileira, Year I, Vol. 4, pp. 44, 45, 47, 48, 234, 240, 241. Rio de Janeiro, 1895.

drapery used by the iamura and kadopa. Hunting, fishing, and agricultural activities thus had to be accompanied by propitiatory activities intended to appease the anger of the iaműra deprived of their animals and plants. On the other hand, karoui and kilaimo wandered through the forest menacing the Bakairí. Against such beings the Indians required the protection of their sorcerer-doctors as well as periods of seclusion in the most dangerous moments.

The Bakairí believed that men had two souls: one called kati or kutulu, heavier and thicker, corresponding to a camisa worn by the second soul, kagatopuri, a more fluid element that

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794 survives death. (6) During sleep, kagatopuri leaves the body

6. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, pp. 43, 44.

and goes wandering through distant regions; on returning it causes the individual to awaken. To awaken a person suddenly might kill him, for kagatopuri would not have time to return to the body. After death the fluid soul leaves the body once and for all and changes into kadopa. The kadopa are wandering souls that continue in this way until their final transformation into iamũra which occurred in the domains of Nakoeri, the culture hero. Nakoeri was a combination culture hero and creator god of the Bakairí. In a /265/ text obtained by Capistráno de Abreu, Nakoeri first makes all the animals, and, using a plaster of clay, creates the Bakairí. (7) Next he

7. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, p. 47.

makes a cotton ladder and climbs to the sky.

The kadopa and iamũra suffer hunger and thirst and eat like the other Indians. For this they use the bodies of animals. When the kadopa disturbed the aldeas, rituals were performed to try to attract the wandering souls in order next to frighten them. One Bakairí account refers to the kadopa thus:

> "... if you do not intone kadopa's song he does not go to the sky. Because of this /after/ many days of sleeping put manioc paste /mingáu/ in two small clay cups /cũias/; put the paste in the middle of the grave; two persons armed with clubs intone the song; the cups are smashed and they flee. Coming from afar, one gives a blessing, saying ku ku ku (now, cheer up!).